634 Keo), and the kapitan from Gunung Rodja (the
124 southern half of Ende town). After a long sales talk, the Radja offered all of his aid and said that on the next morning the kapitan of Gunung Rodja (evidently a kind of crony of the Radja, and one who usually wears an overseas cap, even while eating) would come to the pasanggrahan and take us to Roworeke. Meanwhile I asked a-
●[611] bout Tana Ai, and they knew that it was matrilineal. Then the hadji from Keo said that it was matrilineal too, which was news to me. Then I asked about Wolo Wae, and they said it was in the mountains to the north, in Ende.
614 They seemed to think it was matrilineal too. I
582 then asked about clan exogamy and they said
178 that Mohammedanism was breaking it down, just as had happened in Tulehu in Ambon. But as in Ambon, clan exogamy is kept by the Christians here.

583 Incidentally, the priest in Ndetosoko said
178 that the Catholics are in favor of keeping the
797 bride price, as it strengthens marriages.

We finally left, and the next morning the
124 kapitan of Gunung Rodja appeared without his overseas cap. We got into the jeep and went to Roworeke, but the kapitan there was again in the garden. We went to kilometer 10 and saw the kapitan with several men wading across the river to the garden on the other side. We called him back and he got in suspiciously and we then drove back to his house. There he called the kepala kampong of Watu Roga. This fellow was a relative of his, an old man with an old sarong and short betel teeth, who looked somewhat like a Toradja. Later he called the djurutulis [scribe].

I gave a long sales talk and the kapitan
124 warmed up. The kapitan of Gunung Rodja helped
634 out and was quite enthusiastic. He is evidently
632 a powerful man, but the Controleur says that the

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632 then announces the chosen candidate. He has veto
624 power, and if he says no to a candidate, it is
final. The kapitan must come from either Re-
[614] warangga or Odja suku. If all agree, and the
giri tumba also agrees, they may choose a man
from Reandona suku, but this has never happened.
[178] In the old days the kapitan happened always
632 to be from Rewarangga suku, but recent ones have
565 been from Odja. If the present kapitan dies,
614 there would be about ten eligible candidates. I
611 think this means ten from Odja. These include
171 the sons of the old kapitan plus others from
eligible families. But there are over a hundred
families in Odja. Thus only certain families
are of the bangsawan high enough to be eligible
for kapitan. I could not get it straight who
these families are, but evidently they represent
the descendants of the great ancestor of the suku
Odja in the direct male line. This is always via
the oldest son. Thus the oldest branch of the
oldest branch, etc., as in Polynesia.

613 I asked if there was a name for the set of
565 noble kapitan families in Odja, and they finally
632 said, after much argument, Djo'bi Bene. To this
"lineage" belong the present kapitan, the scribe,
and the giri tumba. The kapitan came in and gave
the family tree of the lineage. So far as I
could see, it ran:

1. Neni
2. Djata
3. Odja
4. Koru Rudja
5. Djo'bi Bene

Thus these are the next ones to Djo'bi Bene.
I must come back again and find out exactly who
Djo'bi Bene was, and where his grave is located,
[124] etc. This was frustrating, and I could not get
it straight at first. I was always worried about
the loss of time in such slow questioning.

578 wars. There is no more head-hunting (but the
721 priest in the mission thinks it still goes on secretly, especially for the main post of a new korke).

53 The arts here are poor in all ways.

583 The bride price must be paid, but ambil anak
611 can occur. In the latter case a daughter or
237 daughters are given to the family in place of the
[556] price. This is especially true for the poor. Elephant tusks are needed for things such as the bride price, but this is evidently mainly for the uppers. And Krol said that nowadays, when the tusks have become rare, they often merely make the transfer in their heads, talking all night, and never actually transferring the real tusks from one family to another. It is a kind of clearing-house procedure. The tusks may be "transferred" up to twenty times in their heads, and they balance out in the end. Thus there is no real cost. It is a matter of delayed payment and really works out to a system of woman exchange between families. The tusk transfer is fictional. Thus A will "pay" tusks to B for a girl, and B will "pay" these to C for a girl, and C will "pay" them to A for a girl, and so on. The tusks, however, may even be non-existent in a particular case, and since they balance out in the end, no one really pays.

764 I was told that they used to put the bodies of
766 the war dead (I think) in trees before burial. Newborn children were buried in the kampong in front of the house. Cemeteries here were evidently placed outside the kampong.

124 We will return to Leloba tomorrow and try to
621 get the assistant matter straightened out. It
578 is notable that the guru said he is more comfortable working in an outside kampong. If the kakang gives the order the people must cooperate. This shows that the kampongs here are fiercely separatistic and only the upper government controls this atomism.

621 R 11. Ae Mura (kilometer 8)
361 12. Paudari (inside from Nuamere too)

237 There are no more tusks in Roworeke. All
727 of them were sold or taken during the Japanese
time. The old wea were sold in the Japanese
436 time too, but new ones are being made by
563 traveling goldsmiths from Savu and Roti, from
326 metal supplied by the kampong folk. We picked
up two Roti goldsmiths with their tools and
families. They had been in the mountains mak-
ing wea and ornaments for the Lio folk. They
use the natives' gold. Much silver is now
mixed in with the gold. They both had complete
[142] sets of gold teeth. They were handsome, large,
and light.

583 Today, if there are no tusks or wea, they
611 use money and animals for the bride price, but
591 they may also work it off, although it is not
237 really a case of ambil anak because the chil-
dren follow the father's suku anyway. The girl
must stay with the parents until the bride
price is paid. Also, residence remains matri-
local until the bride price is paid. Thus we
have an illustration of this in the case of a
Lio man now living in Roworeke, with several
children, because the bride price has not yet
been paid. The children belong to his suku,
however. Thus there is bride service, matri-
local residence, but the descent remains patri-
lineal. The guru, who is living matrilocally,
has not yet paid his bride price. He tried to
get the assistant to say that they still had
tusks, but the kepala kampong told the truth.

693 Nearly all adat cases are handled by the
624 kampong Little Fours, but big cases come before
632 the Big Four. The latter type cases are evi-
dently rare. Minor ones may be handled by the
local giri tumba, acting alone. The adat cases
[691] are concerned only with land and marriage ques-
tions.

443 night, was pitiful. There were six gambling
[525] tables in the pasar shed,[1] and that was all.
The Radja tried to get some dancers, but the
women had left for the kampong.

525 The priest, Mommersteeg, said that they all
gamble and that there is plenty of money used
here, although there are also many one sen
stakes. We went to bed in the terrible cold.

In the morning we went to Todabelu with Mom-
114 mersteeg to meet Arndt.[2] We had met the latter
on the day before along the road. We saw an
old bearded man with a rain cape and umbrella
on a horse and asked if he knew where Arndt
was. He said that he was Arndt and that he had
ridden seven and one-half hours from Magilewa
near the south coast where he had gone for
Christmas. His parish is not there but on the
road to Boawai, off to one side. He was a
notable figure on the horse. We talked with
him about Ngada.

Arndt[2] says that there are no tribal units
614 called isi as van Staveren says.[2] There are
173 merely clans called voi. Then, inside these
●611 units are bhou, or subclans. The big ancestor
was Djawa, who had seven sons and seven daughters.
The seven sons drop out, but the seven daughters
became the ancestral mothers of seven of the
great voi of Ngada, one of which is Ngada, and
this is the name of the ancestress. There are
a lot of other voi here too, each with a female
ancestor. I asked who the seven daughters
married, and he said this is unclear, but evi-
dently there were men on earth when the seven
were born. Thus it looks like an immigration
and intermarriage with aborigines. The bhou
614 have ancestral fathers, and thus they have a
611 system where the clans look a bit matrilineal
583 and the subclans a bit matrilineal, but the
whole descent is patrilineal unless there is no
bride price paid, when ambil anak occurs. Also,

[1] [i.e., at the night market --Analyst]
[2] [See bibliography, cat. 113 --Analyst]

611 I think he[1] said it is possible to pay part of
614 the bride price and then to give some of the
583 children to the mother's group. This is not so
582 important, however, as the usual marriage is endogamous. They prefer to marry within the sib. They may marry out also. They have the same term for all cousins, and may marry with any cross or parallel cousin. Descent is patrilineal. Female descent is traced too, and thus there may occur cases of double descent with patrilineal emphasis and endogamy and clans. This is remarkable.

784 They also have totemism here with animal de-
824 scent and tree descent. A member may not kill or eat the animal totem and may not cut or burn or use in any way the wood of the tree totem.
583 Two of the latter are ficus and lontar. The
554 amount to be paid as a bride price is a matter of pride. Many kampongs have only one voi,
614 but others have several.

197 The language of Ngada is related to that of
193 Ende and is very close to Nageh. Manggarai speech, however, is quite different. Arndt says there are no affixes in Ngada, but instead they use particles.

614 Correction: Not all voi have women as an-
565 cestors, but most of them do. There are four
582 classes (not three as van Staveren[2] says). These are the nobles (ata gai or gai meze), upper commoners (ata gisa or gai giza), lower commoners (azi ana), and slaves (ata hoö). An upper woman may never marry a lower man, but the reverse is all right. The peo still stand.

124 We talked about the possibility of working in a Ngada kampong, but the Soa area has already been covered, and Arndt has a book nearly ready on the sociology of Ngada. There is practically nothing on Manggarai, so we decided to go to Ruteng first. We left in the afternoon, and after a hard drive, largely in the rain, we

[1] [i.e., Arndt, pastor in Ngada area--Analyst]
[2] [See bibliography, cat. 113--Analyst]

769 778 342 193 614 rectangular. Now, Coolhaas[1] says that in Manggarai there are two native forms, and he gives the native terms. One is conical and the other rectangular, or perhaps a bit oval in shape. However, the latter is not related to the former. There are areas of the one and the other, and evidently some areas have both. Now, the conical ones seem older, and on any surmise because round houses are simply older in Indonesia. Note then, that Ngada legends say that Djawa had seven daughters who became the ancestral mothers of the seven main voi. And they married men of the land, aborigines, here. The men are the [174] ancestral fathers of the bhou. Could it be that the conical male ancestor houses reflect the patrilineal aboriginal culture and the population stratum which lived in round houses, and the rectangular bhaga represent the incoming, matrilineal population and culture? If so, this says much about the double descent of Ngada, the peculiar legend, and the strange double ancestor houses. Now I think I know why there are those amazing conical male ancestor posts in Ngada.

173 ● 611 342 563 The legends of Minangkabau immigration may be foolish, and the priest says he thinks it is built up more recently, by the younger folk who hear a name of an ancestor who came in and it sounds like "Minangkabau." But the surface evidence looks as though Manggarai and Ngada are a mixture of aborigines and immigrants. And there are also many evidences of double descent. I remember now that the priests talk much of enclaves of "autochthonous" folk in East Manggarai and East Nageh. They say that the people in these places are neither Manggarai nor Nageh. The Nageh enclave is originally from Soa, says Mommersteeg. I wish I knew whether these enclaves were patrilineal. Anyway, I doubt that they were unmixed. This may be a pretty good theory and may explain the umbrella houses.

[1] [See bibliography, cat. 113 --Analyst]

We

784 There is definite totemism here though some
614 clans have no taboos or totem ancestors. But
611 it is the usual thing. Weol may not use one
769 kind of bamboo, because the ancestors were born
562 of this bamboo. Pau may not eat a certain kind of monkey, as the ancestors were linked (this is the assistant's va'u). Women marrying out of the va'u may eat the totem of their own clan but must go through a special rite. Men may never give up the totem taboos, even if they live in an ambil anak arrangement.

574 The next day we went to Weol and up to the
273 kampong with the assistant. We brought native
276 tobacco and gin which we had bought for fl. 2.00
123 in Ruteng. As we entered the kampong, on the right we noted the house of the kepala kampong. Next to it is that of the tuan tanah, where we sat on the front porch. Both of these houses are of the new style, but are sooty because there are no chimneys. The children carried two chairs up from Tjantjar for us and later brought a table from the school. However, the assistant and the tuan tanah and the kepala kampong sat on a mat on the floor. Others were in the background. On the rise in front was a great crowd. We gave gin and tobacco to the old people and
[262] were later served first coffee and then two hard boiled eggs. Others got no eggs. The eggs came by chain-passing from the next kampong, Ndung. Evidently eggs are something special. The old tuan tanah knows everything, and his brother the kepala kampong is old and smart too. The kepala of the third panga of Weol kampong sat in the rear. He too is old.

632 The daluschap Rahong is one of the thirty-
621 nine in Manggarai. The dalu are of Bima origin, or at least this is true of most of them. There are thirty-three kampongs in Rahong. The tuan tanah knows all of them, including the constellations. They are as follows:

Weo

614 happened is that as the va'u became larger and
582 spread out, even over the whole gelarang,
178 exogamy became more difficult, and also the relationships linking the individuals in this area became more and more distant. Thus they gradually began to disregard clan exogamy. Indeed, since the whole gelarang Weol is nearly all one clan, I can see the point.

582 One must marry a mother's brother's daughter
797 (see later). But it is taboo to marry a father's
177 sister's daughter or parallel cousins. The as-
[124] sistant uses standard anthropological symbols, showing the effect of having worked with van Bekkum.[1] The priests try to discourage mother's brother's daughter marriages, but they always give dispensation. Thus they are less harsh in this matter than they are in Larantuka. I get the idea that the priests here are less firm regarding the old adat in general than in Larantuka. This is probably because it is a relatively new field, and the Catholics go slowly and gradually in destroying what is old. The dodge they use here is special dispensation. This is weird stuff in regard to acculturation.

583 The bride price is paid in buffaloes and
231 horses only, except for money. The return gift,
301 which is not nearly so large as the bride price, is in ornaments, and is given by the girl's
842 family to the boy's. The people want children
● 611 of both sexes, as they want the price for the
583 girls, and the boys to carry on the line. If
591 the family consists of girls only, the people
614 say that the parents have no children. There is no real ambil anak here. A man lives with his wife's family until the bride price is paid. This may take ten years or he may never pay the bride price, but the children belong to his va'u. Thus there is matrilocal residence although descent is patrilineal.

872 A school was started in Tjantjar only two and
177

[1] [Pastor at Ruteng; see also bibliography, cat. 113 -- Analyst]

Wae

611 583 614 591 However, all children are descended patrilineally. That is, there is no ambil anak here. In any case, the bride price must be paid eventually. It may even take two generations to do this, but the debt is remembered and the books must finally be balanced. This eventuates as follows: If a man can't pay with tusks, he pays with a daughter. It may be any daughter, the first, second, or later daughter. If the man has no daughters, the debt remains and must be paid someday. But, she does not become a member of her mother's sib. She remains a member of her father's sib and marries as though she were a full member of it. That is, all that happens is that when she marries, her price goes to her mother's sib. This is a very peculiar arrangement, and it is purely for monetary reasons. The sons are called anak suku. The daughters are called anak gading ("elephant-tusk children"). Thus the price of a woman is either tusks or a daughter. The daughter who is given for the price may live matrilocally or patrilocally, depending on where her parents live.

582 621 614 There are some marriages between Wailolong and other districts. Roy can think of cases with Lewotala, Wolo, and Lewinga, and he thinks there are others. I asked him how they figure the marriage rules in such cases. He said that if there were already suku there which corresponded to those in the kampong, the situation was easily resolved. If previous marriage relations existed between the two areas, it is also a simple matter to figure out the marriage relations. If no previous marriage relations exist, it is easy to figure out anyway, as none of the rules applies. Thus Roy's brother married a girl from Roti whom he met on his travels. This was no problem, as she was far outside the pattern area. What usually happens, however, is that a boy, for example, sees a girl at the

582 584

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624 465 like the marinyo of Ambon. I asked what the secretary got, and he said cigarette money only. The pay is evidently very little.

583 614 611 784 Correction: Although he says there is no case here now, he has found out that if the bride price is not paid, the children are of the suku of the mother. And the bride price must be paid at marriage. There is no post-marriage payment in order to get the children back. Thus there is real ambil anak here. The man remains a member of his own sib, and the wife a member of hers. Thus she assumes the "married woman" totem taboos of her own sib, not those of her husband's sib, as is the more usual thing.

346 778 614 I asked about the rumah berhala of Wolofeo. This group has a real house, and in it there are four ana deo, two in bad repair. There is one for each of the four suku. There are no other suku in the kampong. There are also plenty of belongings in the house. It is rather large, about twelve meters on a side. There are baskets and other objects therein. This old kampong is only one kilometer off the road in the hills at kilometer 17. I may go there one day. The four suku are Mbonggi (the kepala kampong is from this), Djo'bi, Soa, and [769] Woro. The oldest suku is Mbonggi. There is also a grave-bone shrine here, of the suku Djo'bi.

791 769 The folk here are now mostly Catholic, but they do have an annual ancestor rite, and the Catholics attend too. The kampong Ratebedi, far off in the hills, has fewer Catholics, as is the case with the far off Bu'ube'i. The distant ones remain pagan longer.

872 178 212 000 Fifty years ago there was no school. It came in 1921. No one went to school before this. They were totally illiterate (this shows how recently the schools came in here). They were

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614 that the exogamy taboo is off, as he still is
597 half Gusa. Also, he still must attend all suku ceremonies of Gusa, as well as those of his adopted suku Odja. Thus, indeed, he is a double-sibbed man. Note that he could become kapitan only via adoption, because only an Odja or a Rewarangga suku man can be, and this does not apply to a man of Gusa. This is a good case.

583 In former times there was a strong force
178 behind the ruling which made a child marry anyone chosen by a father. This ruling has weakened, but still survives. The force, however, is no longer absolute. If a boy or girl remains adamant, the marriage is not forced. This is why they do not pay the bride price early any more, as they are not sure that the children will obey them when they are grown, and they stand to lose the payment for a non-fulfillment of contract. The bride price is paid, and that is all.

611 The system here is patrilineal, and there has been no shift away from this in any direction.

162 The sex ratio here is about equal, and this is approximately the same as it was before. They think this is all right.

586 There is no divorce here, and there never
583 was. They at once said, "why in the world do that, when the bride price of a woman is so high?" (A good substantiation of the priest's point that the bride price is a good thing in order to keep and strengthen the marriage bond!)

684 I asked what happens in a case of adultery. They said that formerly as well as today a man was satisfied with a fine, and gets this anyway. If the spouse catches the couple in the act, he can kill both of them. This is the same as before. The wrong party, always the man in the case, must pay the injured mate a

614 this is so too. Thus there is a kind of "kepala
624 suku" in the form of one of the mosa who is hereditary in the suku. This means, however, that there may be suku with no big man in them because there is no hereditary rank in them. Such would be the suku which had lost their privileges in the old kampong of origin and which had not obtained any office in any of the other kampongs to which they have moved.

576 A lower person must sit or squat in the
516 presence of the kapitan or mosa laki. This is respect. There are no honorific terms of address. They just call the officer by his title. Only the educated ones even know the use of the term "tuan."

789 I have been unable, even with the most extreme pressure, to get anything on magic power of individual persons here. The dukun and the bisa mari are just dreamers and clever ones with second sight and occult gifts. I can find nothing of the true magic power of office that clothes the radjas of Celebes.

611 Monday, January 16. Today I left Ende for
184 Larantuka. I stopped and asked a man in Tana Ai about the matrilineal rules and finally got it out. It happened that the place I asked about this was over the border of Larantuka, to the east of Tana Ai, and he said that here in West Larantuka the matrilineal adat of Tana Ai is also found. In fact, he spotted the border for me exactly, which represents a new find for the book. These towns are in the matrilineal part of Larantuka: Unu, Palueh Lewalalang, Sukutukang, Riangwulo (which is where he and his group were from), Kedang, Bawalatang, Duang, Tabana, and Watubuku. These represent the eastern border of Tana Ai matrilineal adat. To the east of them all is patrilineal, that is, Lewotobi (e.g., Riangbarang). This is excellent material.

We

533 797 [562] school is overcrowded, and it is the only place where girls can rise above the lowest level in Manggarai. There were plenty of sisters around. The whole thing shows the good organization of the Catholics here.

[124] I used the last two days of work here to get through the rest of the schedule.

585 For weddings, the Christians go to church for a service as well as going through the old rites.

583 Formerly the bride price was not payable in money, but today it is, in part. The bride price (padja) includes buffaloes, horses, and formerly copper or brass (?) boxes. There are no more of these last objects, and money has been substituted for them. Also, cattle are now used, but were not included formerly.

The return gift (vida) includes cloth, bracelets, ear ornaments, etc. Also included are small elephant teeth (used as pendants on bracelets). They are about two inches long. The bride price goes to the girl's family, and the return gift to the boy's family. Formerly the bride price was not very high. Today it is higher. An average bride price includes about five animals.

Both Catholics and pagans still pay the bride [591] [611] price and make the return gift. If a bride price is not paid, the couple must live matrilocally until it is paid. However, the children are always patrilineally descended.

582 614 The distances of mate selection are about the same as they were fifty years ago. There is a bit more marriage within the va'u, which was taboo before. However, the panga remain exogamous.

476 602 614 If the relatives-in-law live too far off, there is no real, actual mutual aid. If they are near, mutual aid is carried out between three groups: one's own va'u ana rona, and ana vina. The help comes especially in aiding a help-mate

1 [i.e., at Veol.—Analyst]

Wac

582 291 178 people married earlier, because they got their clothes earlier. Cornelius' says that until about twenty-five years ago you could see quite old and young people going about naked. He remembers this. They do not like too young marriages (!). Also, they do not like them if the partners are too old.

[561] There are no age grades.

614 The Veol clan is very large, but there are clans which are even larger. Not a single clan has ever become extinct. However, some panga have. There is one such panga in Veol.

562 178 584 Formerly, the position of women was really low, like that of slaves. Now they are a little higher. Today there is a beginning in the direction of freer choice in marriage. Formerly all marriages were arranged by the elders.

● 611 The system here is all patrilineal, and there have been no changes.

162 In 1930, Cornelius' says, there were five thousand extra women in all Manggarai. I will check the records for the ratio.

587 768 The levirate obtains if there is a widow. If there is no brother, her family must take her back, and pay one horse. The children stay with the dead father's family. If the levirate goes through, the man pays one horse.

[583] If a widow remarries to a man other than the brother of her deceased husband, the price must be paid to the family of the dead husband, and the "bonds" are "broken." The sororate is not required. The bride price is required in the case of a sororate. It is quite usual, because the sister of the deceased is accustomed to the widower and his children. The children of course stay with the father's family always.

586 There is not much divorce, but it did occur and still does.

[587] The main cause of divorce is discord, not barrenness, as in this case a man simply gets another wife.

' [i.e., the assistant --Analyst]